

Congo (Leopoldville) Ministère des Affaires
Étrangères.

REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO
(LEOPOLDVILLE)

From Leopoldville

To Lagos

★ ★ ★

Our African
Policy



DOCUMENTS DIVISION
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

No. 2

July, 1962



YALE



DT658

A2

Permission is granted to quote from or
reproduce any portion or all of this material.

WE ARE FOR AFRICAN UNITY
BECAUSE WE ARE CONVINCED THAT
UNITY IS BOTH OUR SHIELD AND
OUR WEAPON OF DEFENSE, AND OUR
REASON FOR HOPE IN A LIFE OF
DIGNITY AND REAL INDEPENDENCE.
WE WILL HAVE GREATER WEIGHT IN
THE WORLD IF WE REMAIN UNITED
AND MUTUALLY COOPERATIVE. THIS
IS AN IDEAL WE SHOULD PURSUE
UNRELENTINGLY, FOR THE ROAD
AHEAD IS STILL LONG.

Cyrille Adoula

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction

The Leopoldville Conference 1

- The African Policy of the First Congolese Government. . 1
- The Principles Behind the Congo's African Policy. 6
- The Continuity of the Congo's African Policy 7
- The Position of the Conference on Congolese Problems . 8

Seventeen Months of Silence 12

- The Congo's Domestic Policy is Also an African Policy. 12
- Leopoldville, Last Display of African Unanimity 14
- African Interference Into Congolese Affairs 15
- The Casablanca Conference 17
- The Monrovia Conference. 20

The Lagos Conference 23

- The Question of Inviting the Algerian
Provisional Government 23
- Africa Again Responds to the Congo's Appeal 32
- The Adoula Government's Position for African Unity . . . 39
- Decolonization in Africa 44
- The Friendship Between Nigeria and the Congo 47

Conclusions 49

INTRODUCTION

Near the end of January, 1962, after months of abstention and silence, the Congo again took its place among the African nations.

By accepting the invitation to be present at Lagos*, our country gave proof of its determination to take a dynamic and active role once again in the affairs of this great and little understood continent.

Among those who followed the diplomatic activity of the Congo, either from afar, or on the spot at this conference, there are, perhaps, some who were astonished at the positions we took, as well as the basic options which were ours.

Why did we choose Lagos? Why were we among the warmest partisans of an immediate invitation to the Algerian Provisional Government? Why did we ask the Conference to vote a resolution opposing a new meeting of the Security Council on the Congo? What were the reasons behind our attitude? What was the meaning? These are the main questions which we will answer in the following pages.

It should be made clear, in fact, that far from being dictated by chance or by immediate interests, the Congo's African policy has continued to find its roots in the rich and fertile soil of the principles which have guided our action from the first days of our independence.

Those who continually talk of the chaos and confusion in the Congo would do well to remember that this chaos and confusion are primarily the result of foreign activities, which aims by subversion and division to weaken, undermine and destroy the independence of our redoubtable young Republic.

* Conference of heads of African and Malagasy states held in Lagos, Nigeria, in January, 1962. The 20 African states represented created the Organization of African States and discussed proposals for Pan-African cooperation in vital fields.

On the level of principles, if not always on the means used, the policy of the Congolese authorities has remained firm and unshakable from the beginning. This is especially true where our foreign policy is concerned, and above all, as we will show, for our African policy.

Within these principles one can understand the reasons which determined our positions and attitudes during this extremely important Conference at Lagos.

Our long silence has changed nothing in our determination.

If it is true, as it was so eloquently stated by the Nigerian Minister of Foreign Affairs, His Excellency Mr. Wachuku, that the Congo is really the heart of Africa, then it would be well for Africa and the world to lend an ear, at the moment when this heart starts beating again.

THE LEOPOLDVILLE CONFERENCE

THE AFRICAN POLICY OF THE FIRST CONGOLESE GOVERNMENT

The Congo's long absence from African meetings may have led to the belief that our country simply was not interested.

This absence contributed also to making the world forget the resolutely African policy of the first Congolese government.

On August 25, 1960, at one of the darkest and most tragic times of our history, Prime Minister Lumumba called together the representatives of all the independent African States at Leopoldville.

Because of increasingly serious threats to the brand new independence of our young state, he made a direct, immediate and urgent appeal to his African brothers.

The words he addressed to them at the opening ceremony of the Leopoldville Pan-African Conference are worth remembering:

"We all know, the world knows, that Algeria is not French; that Angola is not Portuguese; that Kenya is not English; that Ruanda-Urundi is not Belgian. We know that Africa is neither French, nor British, nor American, nor Russian, but African.

"We know what the Western aims are. Yesterday, they were dividing us at the level of tribes, clans and chiefdoms. Today, because Africa is becoming free, they want to divide us on the level of states. They want to create blocs that are antagonistic to each other, satellites, and from this cold war atmosphere increase the divisions so that they can keep control forever.

"I do not believe I am wrong in saying that Africa, now united, rejects these machinations. This is why we have chosen the policy of Positive Neutralism, the only valid policy enabling us to affirm our personality.

"For us there is not a Western or Communist bloc, but merely nations, whose attitude towards Africa will dictate our attitude.

"Let every nation speak out and act unequivocally on the subject of Africa.

"We refuse to be the terrain of international intrigues, the site and the reason for cold wars.

"We are affirming our personality as free men who day after day are taking up the destiny of their nations and their continent.

"We have a pressing need for peace and harmony; our international policy is based on the loyal cooperation and the friendship of the peoples of the world. We want to be a force for peaceful progress, a power for conciliation. An independent and closely united Africa will bring an important and positive contribution to universal peace; TORN INTO RIVAL ZONES OF INFLUENCE, IT WILL ONLY INCREASE WORLD ANTAGONISMS AND AGGRAVATE TENSION.

"There will be absolutely no discriminatory barriers in our international relations. The Congo is open to all, and we are ready to go everywhere.

"Our sole demand is the recognition of and respect for our sovereignty.

"We will accept technicians of all nationalities who are imbued with the spirit of friendship, loyalty, co-operation, and who are determined not to try and dominate the Africans but to serve Africa. Such people will find a friendly welcome here.

"I am sure I am translating the sentiments of all my African brothers in stating that Africa is not against any nation in particular, but that she is vigilant before any new attempt at domination and exploitation, as much in the realm of physical interests as in that of thought.

"Our objective is to rehabilitate the cultural, philosophic, moral and social values of Africa and to protect our resources. However, our vigilance does not mean isolation. The Congo showed even at the time of her independence her desire to take part in the life of the free nations, and this desire became a fact in her request for admission into the United Nations.

"Honorable Ministers, dear friends,

"I cannot express the joy and the pride which the Congolese government and people feel today through your presence, that of Africa.

"Today the time of projects is finished. Today Africa must move to deeds. Deeds are awaited with impatience by the peoples of Africa. African unity and solidarity are no longer dreams; they should be expressed by concrete decisions.

"United in a same spirit, in a same forward flight, with the same heart, we will soon make of Africa, our Africa, a continent that is really free and independent.

"Long live African independence and unity!"

"Forward, Africans, toward complete liberation!"

It is rare that Africans have had the chance of hearing an appeal as noble and alive as this for the complete liberation of Africa; as clear a statement on the advent of the African personality among the nations and peoples of the world.

Then, the Congolese Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Justin Bomboko, declared:

"We are strong. Great human masses of Africa, we are ready to defend ourselves against whomever may attack us. But while being conscious of our strength, we are seeking and will continue to seek the peaceful road leading to our goal. There is no just cause which does not sooner or later find a just solution. History has provided a number of examples of this truth. Our presence here is another striking manifestation of it.

"In this general struggle in favor of the Pan-African bloc, we must first of all define our policy. Without encroaching on the sovereignty of other states, and on their external affairs, we should like to examine the practical application of what we call 'neutralism.'

"In a large measure we are the arbiters of peace between the Western and Eastern blocs. Our future, that of the Africans and Asians, is that of all humanity. Our neutralist position, based on positive principles, alone can prevent a new world conflict and contribute to bringing the adversaries closer together. I would like to express the hope that this Conference will bring new elements to this, Africa's vocation.

"In addition, there is our own well-being. Now that the greater part of Africa belongs to the Africans, should we not discuss our own cultural, scientific and economic well-being?

"The immense wealth which is ours should receive a more economical exploitation than in the past. Studies should be undertaken in this respect. Let's not wait for others to make deals behind our backs. We must take the initiative ourselves. Let us draw up plans for the economic development of our countries and for the encouragement of trade.

"Let us try and find what best serves our own interests. Our trade with other continents can only become more favorable if we act together in our relations with them. Our political solidarity has been shown on many occasions. It is high time that this solidarity was seen also in the economic domain. Our meeting, then, should set itself the task of making recommendations on this question.

"Scientific research should be encouraged more than ever, if we wish to make our economic independence effective. We must be able to decide, ourselves, what plans we wish to make and how we wish to use our own wealth.

"Naturally, for the most part at any rate, we speak different languages that bind us to our native countries. But nothing prevents us from coming together on the cultural level. In the past, African students and intellectuals generally have met in the intellectual centers of Europe and America. We have the material means of intensifying our cultural contacts on our own continent. We must use them."

In its turn, it can be seen that this declaration describes clearly and categorically several of the main principles of the Congo's African policy. With the speech of Prime Minister Lumumba, it constitutes the essential part of the Congo's Pan-African doctrine.

THE PRINCIPLES BEHIND THE CONGO'S AFRICAN POLICY

So, from the first weeks of its independence our country has stated its position on Africa forcefully and firmly.

It gives full support to positive neutralism in its wish not to be tied down to one "Great Power" or another, and therefore to be integrated against its will into a political bloc.

Positive neutralism is the last chance for an Africa that is determined to preserve its strength and to avoid becoming the stakes, if not the prey, of the rival imperialisms which are fighting for control of the world.

The Congo is resolutely in favor of the total liberation of the African continent; like so many other independent African countries, we cannot feel that we are completely free until the entire continent has become free.

We are ready to welcome, in friendship, all those who in spite of their nationality want to bring their aid to Africa, provided this aid is loyal and is offered frankly without any underlying motive.

The Congo wants African fraternity, collaboration and solidarity to become living realities immediately.

It wants to see the establishment of close collaboration among the independent African nations in the social, economic and cultural fields.

Finally -- and this is perhaps most important of all -- it insists on the maintenance of the intangible principle of respect for the sovereignty of states. It is within respect of this sovereignty that "the points of application of what we call neutralism" should be examined.

In other words, even if the putting into effect of positive neutralism, or the practical application of African solidarity, were to imply certain limitations on the sovereignty of the states, the Congo could never tolerate that such limitations be imposed on it from external sources and that such limitations not come from an act of its own free will.

THE CONTINUITY OF THE CONGO'S AFRICAN POLICY

As can be seen, as early as August, 1960, the Congo had expressed the main principles of its African policy clearly and distinctly.

It is hardly necessary to emphasize how closely the present African policy of the Congolese central government, led by Cyrille Adoula, is connected to the policy so imperfectly known, or hardly known at all, of the first Congolese Government.

It was within the framework of a policy of non-alignment that Mr. Adoula's government attended the conference of the non-aligned countries which took place in Belgrade during the month of August, 1961. With the desire of showing its wish to establish fraternal relations with the peoples of the African continent, the Congo today is resuming its role at the center of the movement to organize a new Africa. It was out of respect for the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states that we decided to take part in the Lagos conference with a group of states which had solemnly enunciated its guiding principles during the Monrovia Conference.

This latter point will be developed at greater length in the following pages, because for us its historical and doctrinal importance is primordial.

THE POSITION OF THE CONFERENCE ON CONGOLESE PROBLEMS

The continuity of the Congo's African policy from the date of its independence exists not only on the level of principles and doctrines, but also in the manner in which the Congo appealed to its brothers on the African continent to help it solve its problems, and in the manner also in which Africa answered this appeal.

From the beginning of the Congolese crisis, the first Congolese government understood perfectly that the struggle in which our country was involved was also the struggle of modern Africa, seeking its liberation, its personality, a new equilibrium.

It had a presentiment that a chaotic Congo would be the first blow aimed at African unity, the first stage in a great splitting up of the African continent.

Some of the words spoken by Prime Minister Lumumba at the time of the closing session of the conference were particularly significant in this respect:

"In the Congo, dear delegates of African countries, you have a peaceful people, but one which is determined to defend the unity of its beloved country, a people which really wants peace and which extends its hand to all who wish sincerely to help.

"Europeans of good will, Belgians of good faith, will always find a friendly welcome among us.

"We want to make of the Congo a great nation, free and prosperous, a country of democracy and freedom.

"The confidence which all the African states are showing us today encourages us greatly, and you may be sure, dear delegates, that we will do everything in our power to merit this confidence.

"THE SOLIDARITY WHICH YOU HAVE JUST SHOWN US
IN MEETING TODAY IN LEOPOLDVILLE IS A LIVING
LESSON FOR OUR PEOPLE'.

"This is why we are launching a fraternal appeal to
all our compatriots asking them to unite.

"Only unity can help us and save us."

The African delegates to the conference at Leopoldville
answered the appeal which was made to them. The resolutions they
passed on the subject of the Congo proved their full agreement with
the views expressed by the Congolese Prime Minister and constituted
a fraternal and warmly comprehensive response to the appeal which
he had addressed to them.

LEOPOLDVILLE RESOLUTIONS

RESOLUTION NO. 1 -- THE SITUATION IN THE CONGO

The conference of the African states meeting in special
session at Leopoldville from August 25-31, 1960:

"ANIMATED by the spirit of African solidarity and co-
operation in the political, economic and cultural domains;

"ANXIOUS to preserve and consolidate the independence
of the African states which have won their freedom from
the colonialists by their struggle, their sacrifices and
their heroism;

"AWARE of the danger which stalks the African countries
through maneuvers by the colonialists aimed at domination
and division on the African continent;

"AWARE of the necessity of safeguarding the unity of the independent African states and to bring to a halt all attempts at Balkanization or secession;

"HAILS the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of the Congo, one and indivisible;

"PROCLAIMS the necessity for the maintenance of the unity and territorial integrity of the Republic of the Congo;

"BRINGS its total support to the Central Government of the Republic of the Congo, which is the only legitimate authority capable of establishing and consolidating the independence;

"LAUNCHES an urgent and solemn appeal to the leaders of the Republic of the Congo for the safeguard of this unity, for the mutual understanding and cooperation in the higher interest of the Congo and of Africa."

RESOLUTION NO. 2 -- AFRICAN ASSISTANCE TO THE REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO

"Taking into consideration the appeal launched by the government of the Republic of the Congo to all independent African states, asking assistance in the administrative, economic and cultural domains;

"Taking into consideration that this fraternal appeal had an immediate and spontaneous response, in the affirmative, from the independent African states;

"Taking into consideration that it is particularly in this domain that active African solidarity should begin and grow;

"Recognizing that the government of the Republic of the Congo is in full and complete exercise of its sovereignty, will determine its needs with all offers from external sources, including those from the United Nations;

"Taking into consideration, finally, that the assistance requested by the government of the Republic of the Congo could take the forms which this government proposed;

"TAKES note of the spontaneity and rapidity with which the Independent African states have responded to the appeal of the Republic of the Congo,

"DECIDES to pursue their efforts in this field and expresses the wish that the African part of this assistance be more and more rapid and more and more extensive.

"EXPRESSES the wish of seeing a coordination and harmonization among African states for a rational division and maximum of efficiency in the assistance accorded to the Republic."

As can be seen, the African states responded instantly and warmly to the appeal made by the first Congolese government.

From the first days of the Congolese crisis, they warmly approved the policy of national unity which this first government put into effect.

It is necessary to recall these facts, because the truths they contain today are still of great moment.

SEVENTEEN MONTHS OF SILENCE

CONGOLESE DOMESTIC POLICY IS ALSO AN AFRICAN POLICY

Only a short time after these historic times, the crisis of the Congo entered the tragic phase which we all know. For seventeen months, from August, 1960, to January, 1962, the Congo had no active role in the Pan-African movement.

Subjected on its own territory to external influences of all kinds, its foreign policy and even its African policy became strongly influenced by its domestic policy.

During this unfortunate period, the elementary principle that "the Congolese must be allowed to solve their own problems" was far from being generally recognized. Everyone wished to impose his own solution for the Congolese problem. Such solutions were rarely devoid of self-interest, and the Congo discovered much to its surprise, and then with bitterness, that imperialism did not exist simply outside Africa.

At this juncture, the smallest decision made by the Leopoldville authorities aroused excitement and comments that had repercussions in all of Africa, and around the world.

Therefore, due to foreign meddling, Congolese domestic policy had more importance abroad than a foreign policy would have had, under other circumstances.

It hardly seems necessary to emphasize that while the Congo did not have an African policy in the strict sense during this period, it did, nevertheless, know that the stakes of the struggle on its own territory were also the stakes for Africa.

It is perhaps not exaggerated to state that there is no problem in Africa, and particularly in black Africa, which has not seen its most painful expression in the Congo.

Whether it be a matter of national unity or of the adaptation of western political structures to African realities; whether it be the relation between political authorities and traditional authorities, or whether it be the manner in which external aid and technical assistance is extended, the Congo seems to have met all these difficulties at the very highest pitch.

One by one, we have been able to surmount them in a bitter and hard fight and at the price of suffering and bloodshed. All of Africa is engaged in the campaign which is ours.

Our victory will be the victory of Africa. Our failure -- Africa's failure. This is why it is so essential for all of Africa that we be victorious in this ordeal.

This is also why the authorities in Leopoldville have continued to hold to two principles which not only are Congolese, but also, and perhaps above all, African. They can be defined as follows:

The unity which alone will provide our strength must take into account the local diversities and characteristics which make up the incomparable richness of our inheritance, both national and African; our country and Africa must free themselves of all foreign interference and take total responsibility, sooner or later, for their own destinies.

One can see, then, that while the Congo owes an immense debt to its African friends, who were moved by our difficulties and who supported us in our struggle for the unity of our country and its liberation from all foreign influence, it can be considered that the solutions gradually being worked out here, where problems were put in the most radical way, will be of use to the Africa of today in its search for new equilibrium. It is even possible that Africa itself, one day will be indebted to us.

However, among members of the same family, can one really talk about debt?

LEOPOLDVILLE, THE LAST DISPLAY OF AFRICAN UNITY

The Leopoldville Conference, in August, 1960, was the last which brought all the independent African states together.

The list of the participating countries is worth repeating:

Cameroon, Congo (Brazzaville*), Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, Mali, Morocco, United Arab Republic, Somalia, Sudan, Togo and Tunisia.

On the third day of the conference, August 27, THE CONGOLESE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, MR. BOMBOKO, OPENED THE MEETING AT 9:40. HE ANNOUNCED THE ARRIVAL OF THE ALGERIAN DELEGATION WHICH WAS GREETED WITH GREAT APPLAUSE.**

This is a detail of some importance, because it will help to understand the attitude taken by our country at the Lagos Conference, on the subject of the invitation to the Algerian Provisional Government.

However, what should be emphasized here is that the Leopoldville Conference was the last to date at which independent Africa achieved unanimity.

The reason for this is easily understood. The evolution of the situation in the Congo posed problems which were so new, so unexpected and dramatic, that each of the African states was obliged, immediately, to accept its responsibilities on questions which were both serious and very precise. Such decisions, taken so hastily, are rarely concordant.

* As an observer.

** Minutes of the Conference.

While it is surely an exaggeration to say that the problem of the Congo was responsible for a certain division among the independent nations of Africa, it is nonetheless correct to state that the Congolese crisis crystallized latent oppositions within Africa itself.

Let us hope that the work of national reconciliation which the Congo has strived to achieve within its own borders will find its counterpart in an African reconciliation. This wish of ours also contains one of the keys which can explain our attitude at Lagos.

AFRICAN INTERFERENCE IN CONGOLESE AFFAIRS

It was in October and November that the two events occurred which can be considered the most tragic from the point of view of African solidarity and friendship. Congolese authorities were obliged to expel the diplomats representing Ghana and the United Arab Republic.

The resistance and senseless obstination of the Ghanaian representative resulted in the bloodshed we all know about. The Congo was on the verge of becoming the first victim of an extremist and dangerous conception of pan-Africanism.

We could go over the details of these unhappy events point by point. However, we feel it is better not to do so.

The Congo is too anxious to see the rebirth of a real African understanding to insist any longer on the bitterness and rancor it may have felt toward any of the independent African states.

We are ready to accept a concept of history which is somewhat different from that generally held in the West as well as in the Communist countries: a concept which would tend to emphasize less the individual advantages of each state than the designing of their common destiny.

In addition, our country is convinced that if Ghana, the United Arab Republic, or any other African power, took action at one time or another in Congolese internal affairs, they were thinking only of the well-being of the Congo and of Africa.

Our country has not the least desire to suspect these intentions, but we would like to criticize their methods.

We believe that none of these tragic events, nor the apparent divisions among Africans, would have occurred if everyone had respected the fundamental principle which Mr. Bomboko alluded to in his inaugural speech to the Leopoldville Conference: respect for the sovereignty of states, and non-interference in their internal affairs.

We believe that to the extent this principle is not respected, the unity of Africa will not be achieved.

And if such unity were forged, in spite of everything, under these conditions, then for all of us and for each of us in Africa, this kind of unity could be the worst form of slavery.

THE CASABLANCA CONFERENCE

During the first days of 1961, the latent opposition to which we have referred began to take a clearer form. Groups were created in the aim of carrying out preconceived methods in the most efficient way.

The Congo during this period was the center of everyone's thoughts.

There were even those who were tempted to go further -- and to make our country a testing ground for their special theories.

The Casablanca Conference* opened on January 4, with Morocco, the United Arab Republic, Ghana, Guinea and Mali in attendance.

The United Arab Republic and Ghana were still sensitive about their setbacks in October and November. And yet, several passages in the Casablanca resolution concerning the Congo, especially the denunciatory allusion to "Mobutu's illegal gangs," have more the ring of personal spite than the expression of a desire to bring an objective solution to an especially difficult political problem.

In addition, language such as this, in itself, is a manifest interference in Congolese internal affairs, and this kind of talk was shown to be even more regrettable by the fact that it quickly became obvious it was completely devoid of meaning.

However, this is only one aspect. It is quite evident, in fact, that the resolution as a whole provides one of the most important solutions for the Congolese crisis and that it indicated very clearly the fundamental principles which have led to the building of the country on solid political and juridical bases since August, 1961.

* The Casablanca Conference took place from January 4-7, 1961, in Casablanca, Morocco. The items on the agenda included discussion of the Congo situation.

The resolution stated:

"The Casablanca Conference, having considered the situation in the Congo,

"DECLARES the intention and the determination of the Governments respectively represented to withdraw their troops and other military personnel placed under the operational command of the United Nations in the Congo.

"REAFFIRMS recognition of the elected Parliament and the legally constituted Government of the Republic of the Congo which was proclaimed June 30, 1960.

"CONVINCED that the only justification for the presence of United Nations' troops in the Congo is

1. to respond to the appeals of the legitimate Governments of the Republic of the Congo, upon whose request the United Nations decided to create their operational command.

2. to carry out the decisions of the Security Council relating to the situation in the Congo.

3. to safeguard the unity and independence of the Republic of the Congo and to preserve its territorial integrity.

"ASKS the United Nations to act immediately in order to

1. disarm and break up Mobutu's illegal gangs

2. free from prison and liberate all members of Parliament and the legitimate Government of the Republic of the Congo

3. convene the Parliament of the Republic of the Congo

4. eliminate from the Congo all Belgian and foreign military and para-military personnel not belonging to the operational command of the United Nations.

5. return to the legitimate Government of the Republic of the Congo all civil and military airports, radio stations and other establishments which have been illegally taken from this Government.

6. prevent the Belgians from using the territory of Ruanda-Urundi, which has been placed under the trusteeship of the United Nations, as a base for direct or indirect aggression for launching armed attacks against the Republic of the Congo.

"DECIDES that in cases where the aims and principles justifying the presence of the United Nations' operational command in the Republic of the Congo are not put into effect and respected, the States here present reserve the right to undertake any appropriate action."

THE MONROVIA CONFERENCE

The resolution concerning the Congo just cited was far from being the only text adopted by the Casablanca Conference.

As a whole the texts were sufficient indication of the interventionist tendencies of this group to disturb those African countries which did not participate. The Congo was among the latter. In addition, we much regretted our inability to participate in the Monrovia Conference*, which met in May, 1961. At this time, our internal political crisis was a long way from solution and the country was obliged to use all its energies in this direction.

In the struggle it was waging to settle its own problems in an aura of complete independence and without any form of constraint, the Congo was comforted by the solemn principles stated and adopted at Monrovia by the African and Malagasy states to govern their relationships with each other. These were:

1. THE ABSOLUTE EQUALITY OF THE AFRICAN AND MALAGASY STATES, WHATEVER THE SIZE OF THEIR TERRITORIES, THE DENSITY OF THEIR POPULATIONS, THE VOLUME OF THEIR RICHES;
2. NON-INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF STATES;
3. RESPECT FOR THE SOVEREIGNTY OF EACH STATE AND OF ITS INALIENABLE RIGHT TO THE EXISTENCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF ITS PERSONALITY;
4. FORMAL CONDEMNATION OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF POCKETS OF SUBVERSION BY INDEPENDENT STATES;

* Conference of heads of African states in Monrovia, Liberia, convened on May 8, 1961. It was attended by representatives of 21 independent states, and sponsored by Liberia, Cameroons, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Mali, Nigeria and Togo.

5. ESTABLISHMENT OF COOPERATION BASED ON AN AFRICAN-WIDE DIMENSION, AND ON TOLERANCE, SOLIDARITY AND GOOD NEIGHBORLY RELATIONSHIPS, OF PERIODICAL EXCHANGES OF VIEWS AND A REFUSAL OF ANY FORM OF LEADERSHIP.

6. THE UNITY SOUGHT AT THIS TIME IS NOT THE POLITICAL INTEGRATION OF THE SOVEREIGN AFRICAN STATES BUT THE UNITY OF THE ASPIRATIONS AND ACTIONS CONSIDERED FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF AFRICAN IDENTITY AND SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SOLIDARITY.

Where the Congo was concerned, the Conference approved a resolution which happily complemented the one passed at Casablanca in January, correcting it at certain points, and confirming it at others:

"The Conference,

"REAFFIRMS its confidence in the United Nations, which in spite of its weaknesses and past errors, is the only organization capable of achieving a solution to the Congolese problem;

"EXPRESSES the hope that all the African and Malagasy states will abstain from any initiative such as the hasty recognition of secessionist regimes in the Republic of the Congo, and, in a general way, from taking sides with rival groups in any manner;

"CONDEMNS assassination as a means of assuring political power;

"CONDEMNS the non-African states that are encouraging or supporting subversion in Africa."

The second paragraph applies to the Congolese problem of the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of states.

The people of the Congo were moved by recognition of this text as the real spirit of African fraternity and solidarity.

Our country has suffered too much, both before and after independence, from various forms or threats of conquest, to tolerate the birth of an African imperialism in whatever measure it might come.

We believe that the birth of such an imperialism would be the negation of the original values which independent Africa can contribute to the world, and a perversion of the vocation for peace and understanding which is quite obviously ours in an anxious and divided world.

This is why our participation in the Lagos Conference, which was the heir and continuator of the Monrovia Conference, had the greatest significance for the Congo and as well, perhaps, for all Africa.

THE LAGOS CONFERENCE

THE QUESTION OF INVITING THE ALGERIAN PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

The Lagos conference began, as planned, with a meeting of the participating countries' Foreign Ministers, the object of which was to establish an agenda of the subjects to be discussed.

At the first session of this meeting, January 22, 1962, the Sudanese Foreign Minister very firmly raised the question of the invitation to the conference of the Algerian Provisional Government. He threatened to withdraw his delegation if this invitation were not extended immediately.

The problem was a difficult one; its aspects were multiple.

The Congo strongly supported the Sudanese proposal.

This attitude seems to have surprised certain people; others gave it an erroneous interpretation, which was even worse and requires clarification.

First of all, it must be recalled that the doctrine of positive neutralism, which is the very base of our foreign policy, is not simply a vain word for us. This doctrine, often poorly understood, was explained very well by Prime Minister Lumumba in the speech cited on page 2.

"For us there is not a Western or communist bloc, but merely nations, whose attitude towards Africa will dictate our attitude."

This means clearly that the Congo intends to follow an independent foreign policy and that it reacts to each special problem according to its own lights, without following the dictates of any particular political group.

Within the framework of a policy which is favorable to the total emancipation of Africa, our country has brought moral support to the Algerian Provisional Government which has never been found lacking.

The Congolese government had invited the representatives of the Algerian Provisional Government to the Leopoldville Conference, and at that time such an act caused no difficulty.

At the conference of the non-aligned nations in Belgrade in August, 1961, the Congo approved Point 3 of the final declaration which read:

"The participating countries feel that the struggle of the Algerian people for freedom, self-determination and independence, and for the integrity of their national territory, including the Sahara, is just and necessary, and are consequently determined to give to the Algerian people all possible support and aid. The Chiefs of State and the governments are particularly happy that Algeria is represented at the Conference by its legitimate representative, the Prime Minister of the Algerian Provisional Government."

Finally, it may be well to recall that the Council of Ministers of the Republic of the Congo later decided to give de jure recognition to the Algerian Provisional Government.

From this it should be easy to understand that our country would support the Sudanese proposal at Lagos in favor of inviting the Algerian Provisional Government. Any other attitude on the part of the Congo would have been completely incomprehensible.

However, the political implications of the problem as they were posed at Lagos were extremely complex, since the fact the Algerian Provisional Government had not been invited was the reason given by the Casablanca group for not participating in the Lagos Conference.

"I find, Mr. President, that such a beginning is not promising and that my delegation cannot tolerate that Africa, which must still fight for the liberation of certain parts of its continent, can allow itself internal squabbles, to be divided into blocs, and we therefore give our entire support to the declarations of the distinguished Foreign Minister of the Sudan, who has condemned blocs. Blocs should not exist, and my country can speak with assurance because we belong to no bloc; we feel that the countries of Africa must work together in order to co-exist and that there should exist no discrimination among us. On the contrary, all those who today are still under the yoke of colonialism expect much from us, and if we are still divided such a state can only serve the interests of the imperialists, the colonialists, but never the interests of Africa.

"As for the invitation to Algeria, my government sees no objection to it, since we already have recognized the Algerian Provisional Government, and if there was not unanimity in this hall for an invitation to Algeria, my government would make no objection to that. Just the same, Mr. President, I insist on the fact that our friends who were to have been with us have wished to make politics out of this problem.

"If we act here, it is uniquely in the interest of Africa. We cannot act under any form of pressure, no matter where it may come from, even if it comes from our own brothers. Their action is a kind of pressure and even now people are talking about whether they will come, whether we will yield, whether we are going to accept all this.

"This is a family problem and we do not understand why this problem must be taken before the whole world.

"I believe this attitude should be condemned because we believe that even here, if there are difficulties among ourselves they should be settled in a truly private, family atmosphere. This is what I had to say, Mr. President."

During the same day, seeing that the systematic opposition by those against the invitation and the extremist attitude of some of its partisans were about to lead the Conference into an impasse, Minister Bomboko spoke again, and reminded the audience that African conferences were aimed not at favoring and abetting divisions in Africa, but at seeking ways towards cooperation and unity. In this vein, he proposed that an invitation be made immediately to the Algerian Provisional Government in order to deprive the members of the Casablanca group of any excuse to prolong their absence.

"Mr. President...now, if I look around, I notice that there are not just the countries of the Casablanca group who are absent, but also others who are not part of this group, Tunisia for example. I do not believe that Tunisia up to now has been part of the Casablanca group, or has Mauretania. We hear that Mauretania will be coming. A moment ago we also heard from the honorable Foreign Affairs Minister of Sudan that he attached a very special importance to the matter of the invitation to the Algerian Provisional Government, before deciding whether he would continue the talks in our company.

"I note also that Libya is absent, and for this same reason. I am not completely in agreement with our colleague from Dahomey when he says that these are children's games, that these gentlemen will end up one of these days by realizing they should be with us. I have the impression that we are going to have to display a great deal of diplomacy in order to isolate them, and not let them increase their ranks.

"On the other hand, I note that we, the representatives of Congo-Leo, were not present at Monrovia and I am sorry to see that some of those who were present there are not with us, and very easily might be on the other side. The reason for this, unfortunately, is the existence of blocs, and for that reason our presence here no longer has any significance.

"Either we have come here to build an Africa One and Indivisible before the world, an Africa which must be able to use all its resources for its own development and thereby strengthen its independence, or we have come here to put an institutional stamp on the blocs that already exist. We do not have the right to participate in such an act, which can be called suicide, for this would be to rule by dividing, and those who divide Africa weaken it and enable others to dominate us as long as possible. This we cannot permit.

"I believe that if we are to bring the delegates of the Algerian Provisional Government here, it should be done in order to put a halt to this equivocation. However, if, after inviting of the Algerian Provisional Government, the members of the Casablanca group persist in not participating in our work, we will be revealing to the world that all this was only a pretext and that they have other reasons which prevent them from being with us.

"But why should we give them justification for their position by refusing to allow the Algerians to be with us on legal principles. If we were to study the legal principles, we would find precedents. Some have already been cited, but I would like to cite one which occurred during the last war. At the time of which I speak, the French government did not exist. France was occupied by the Germans. Nevertheless, a

provisional French government was functioning in London with normal relations with the British. There were Polish governments and others also in exile. Why, then, do we not accept the Algerian Provisional Government? For what reason? I cannot see how we can base ourselves on legal principles in order to refuse an invitation to the Algerians, and thereby justify the action of these gentlemen who wish to form a group apart.

"We are the majority here, those not here are a small minority, so why should we bow to a minority? We represent a greater population than all the gentlemen who did not wish to come. So there is no reason to bow before them for an affair which we can settle in one minute, and which does not require much time for thinking.

"I think that we should not act out of sentiment, but as men of politics, and we are all men of politics here, and in politics one tries to find the best formula. We should try to isolate these gentlemen. If our brothers feel today they are the foes of those who are here, the best thing we have to do is to isolate them. That way you will prove to them that they are wrong, and that we, the majority, are right.

"There, Mr. President, is what I wanted to say and I think we should be more realistic and not solely animated by sentiment. I fear that if we do not follow the example I am giving you, we will little by little break apart the group which you put together at Monrovia.

"We have heard statements about the Monrovia Conference. I, too, would like to say a few words about it.

"We, the Congolese, were not present, but we came here; we understood that this was to be a matter of uniting all African states within the framework which you began so well at Monrovia. I do not believe you can bring together all the African states without admitting certain realities to yourself. So why not make concessions in order to associate everyone with your work at Monrovia? I ask you, therefore, to make these concessions in order that we all can participate in the elaboration of the program for which you laid the groundwork in Monrovia.

"This, Mr. President, is the appeal I make to everyone."

This appeal by Foreign Minister Bomboko for a compromise solution to hold together African unity was not heard, and the Algerian Provisional Government was excluded from the Conference. This placed each of the participating countries before its responsibilities. The Sudan, as it had announced, refused to attend any longer. The Congo, as other countries which had attended the Belgrade Conference, found itself in a delicate situation.

The qualms felt by the Congolese were such that Foreign Minister Bomboko returned for a day to Leopoldville to consult with his government. Finally, Prime Minister Adoula decided to accompany the Foreign Minister to Lagos, and this assured the Congo's participation in the work of the conference.

The Congolese government felt, in fact, that in this case the question of principle was the over-riding factor.

In his first speech Mr. Bomboko had congratulated the Sudan for having come to the conference despite the fact that the Algerian Provisional Government had not been invited. This made it clear that adhesion to the principles of Monrovia meant more to the Congo than the legal arguments of some or the political maneuvers of others.

ERROR: stackunderflow
OFFENDING COMMAND: ~

STACK: